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"INSTEAD OF CURSING THE DARKNESS ONE LIGHTS A CANDLE."

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EDITORIAL

The West Indies have come full circle in the small compass of twenty years. At the Montego Bay Conference of West Indian leaders in 1947 hopes ran high that teeth would be given to the proposals for establishing a West Indian Federation. In 1967, instead of standing like a proud and viable unit, we have proliferated into so many meaningless mini-states. The death-knell has tolled for whatever spirit of regional unity there was. The martial anthems of the islands will sound like dirges, the colourful flags will resemble shrouds, and the mottos would read like epitaphs, all mourning the willful destruction of regional integration. For not all the paraphernalia and external trappings of formal independence could gainsay that the assumption of Independence and Associated Status by the separate territories of the English-speaking Caribbean is a retrograde step, a quixotic display lacking positive significance, a caricature of what national development should be.

In 1947 the arguments for West Indian Federation were strong. Today they are much stronger. In fact they are compelling, save among our politicians. Twenty years ago an eloquent federationist, Norman Manley, put his case very simply and forcibly: "...here we are all on the sea of world conditions, stormy and hazardous in the extreme, each huddled in some little craft of our own. Some hardly have oars and only a few have accomplished a rudimentary sail to take them along. And here offered us is a boat, substantial, capable of being made seaworthy and ready to be manned by our own captains and our own crew. If we won't leave our little boats and get into that larger vessel which is able to carry us to the goal of our ambitions, then I say without hesitation that we are damned and purblind and

history will condemn us." Manley's appeal was directed primarily at the heart. It was larded with emotionalism. A decade later Dr. Eric Williams was to launch a more powerful appeal aimed at the head. The approach was logical and rationalistic. His "Economics for Nationhood" presented a formidable, if not unanswerable, case for the creation of a strong federal government.

But the isolationists have carried the day. As far back as 1937 Sir Arthur Lewis had affirmed that as far as federation was concerned "the real stumbling-blocks has been the opposition of local potentates, fearful that their voices, all powerful in a small island, will be unheard in a large federation." Manley had referred to "the vested interest of ambition in power—the most dangerous of all the vested interests," as the great enemy of regional co-operation. The ludicrous presence of about a dozen poverty-stricken, problematic, states where there should have been one potentially viable state, is the logical conclusive expression of the ingrained selfishness and parochialism that have characterised West Indian society since slavery.

However unpalatable the present situation seems it is already a fait accompli. The question now is what course must we plot for the future. The coming generation is left with the unenviable task of starting all over again, the more difficult because it would be assembling with the horrid memory of past defeat. At all costs a West Indian nation must be made to rise phoenix-like from the ashes of past failures. In the meantime Manley's censure remains poignantly valid for the passing generation. "We are damned and purblind and history will condemn us."

FACING REALITIES IN POLITICS AND IN ECONOMICS

By CEDRIC B. HAROLD.

Arnim Eustace in "Obstacles to Economic Growth" (Nov. 66) expressed certain convictions which are both provocative and disappointing. Provocative because they challenge the prevailing dispensations, and disappointing because, unsupported by objective references, they remain mere opinions. This is particularly evident in his treatment of foreign investment about which he writes: they "generally play a negative role." He defines clearly enough what he means by negative role, but by omitting to lay any factual basis for the statement one must needs abide by one's previous information which, in this instance, is to the contrary.

This is not intended as a critique of the November essay. It is if anything, a partial critique of the first sixteen paragraphs, but I would prefer to consider this the second salvo in a debate just begun. I have gone outside of Mr. Eustace's own terms of reference with its focus on obstacles to a re-evaluation of some other widely held views.

POLITICAL DEPENDENCE

There is not much to say about the relation between our colonial system and economic development. We have always been sugar plantations to the Imperial Interests, and progress had only two dimensions—abundant sugar supplies and a convenient market for British exports. To achieve the one they constructed the plantation system with or without slavery; and for the other, nothing positive, but the negative tariff structures and the Navigation Laws. To have made the market grow (as in U.S. colonial policy) would have meant an emphasis on local development to which their attitude was characteristically negative. So they restricted their strategy to removing their competitors (mostly Dutch) to the detriment of all West Indians.

Although political independence is a desirable goal one must beware of overstating its connection with economic growth. The former does not contain within it the seeds of the latter. We stagnated, not because we were not politically free, but because the nature of our political bondage contained obstacles to growth. Remove it and you remove an obstacle: it is an essentially negative act. Political independence, if it means responsible government, will provide a new soil and a new stimulus resulting in higher growth levels—but only if it means responsible government.

It is, I think, important to emphasise this point. Political independence does not mean

responsible government. All it does mean is that legislative formalities will be concluded in Government House, St. Vincent, instead of in Whitehall, London. In the case of the major powers independence has meanings other than the ceremonial: it means that the decisions reached in their capitals reflect local initiative, aspirations and capabilities more than they reflect reactions to external considerations. With small countries, however—with Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Guyana—local decisions of international import are largely responses and accommodations. All over the world parliaments, congresses and assemblies follow a similar procedural pattern: politicians forgather, talk and pass laws—but not all political decisions are as important as others.

Apart from the content of independence there is the question of executive responsibility. This is partly a function of the constitutional articles, but largely it is a function of the calibre and devotion to duty of elected politicians. We in St. Vincent have had politicians who have mastered the art of politics—men whose astuteness and political canniness make them the equals of the best anywhere in the world—but men, by and large, so engrossed with the performance of their art that they seldom pay attention to government. Given the choice between playing sterilised colonial-inspired roles and politicking, our candidates, to the extent that they were skilful politicians, chose the latter everytime.

There are two lessons here: one is that it lays bare the lie that the colonial tactic was geared to giving our people experience in the practice of government. What we got instead was the development of politics to a high art and a colonial heritage of non-responsible government. The second lesson refers to the future and questions whether both the system and the present crop of politicians are fitted for responsible government in independence. Can they forget political rituals sufficiently to make any system work in a way that will benefit the country and ensure democratic (as opposed to oligarchic) ideals?

In as much as colonial government was a poor example to learn from, and since our politicians chose not to learn anyway, our society faces the challenging task of having to build and learn at the same time. There will always be the danger that the worse aspects of the colonial heritage will be remembered as the easier alternative to constructive endeavours. As a buffer against politicians, therefore, the

"See Flambeau light befo you blow out de match".

society in going to have to rely principally upon its civic-minded citizens and its trained and devoted civil servants. Indeed the civil service is pivotal during the next few years to the whole future of St. Vincent. And we are going to need the service of an unbiased daily press

ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE

"Dependence," Mr. Eustace writes, "can be detected in the nature of our foreign trade." This is, of course, true. What is also true, however, is that "the nature of the foreign trade" is what, among other things defines dependence and independence. If our foreign trade were to resemble that of Britain or the U.S.A. such an alteration would not lead to, but rather would reflect, independence.

Part of the difficulty here is the stigma which the word "dependence" carries. At the moment it signifies that which must not be. The current ideology dictates that we be absolutely independent in every possible way—politically, economically, culturally. There are some who declare we should dress differently and talk differently, without, unfortunately, ever saying what we should actually do. Economic independence is therefore regarded as a goal in the same way as political independence with the exception that its meaning is largely negative. Precisely it means not being economically dependent.

Haziness about goals and vague assumptions about our capacity to achieve them mean that wishful thinking has pride of place in national planning. It becomes easy in the circumstances to build our whole future upon dogma ("We have to rid our land of exploiters," "investments that play a negative role should be nationalised") and declare such things as costs and social organisation irrelevant. Hard facts are the nightmares of many reformers, but they must be faced, and they include dollars and traditional social processes. They include the acknowledgement, furthermore, that, whether we like it or not, our economy is backward and is dependent. Practical politics for us does mean accommodating ourselves to a framework defined by the highly industrialised countries, and this in turn imposes a logical limit to the targets that are within our reach.

We can put this in another way by saying that our status is dependent because of the gap between the standard of living we try to maintain and that which we can maintain through our unaided efforts. We can only maintain the existing level of living by importing commodities produced in the industrialised countries, and, in order to buy them, we must earn the foreign exchange. This on a practical level means trading what we have on available

markets. Immediately it means exporting bananas, arrowroot, copra, provisions, etc. And not only exporting these things, but accepting the price which the purchasers are prepared to pay.

Having stated the hard facts we can turn our attention to the range within which we can manoeuvre. Here we find that what we trade is a function of what we produce, and that the price obtainable can be influenced by ourselves under certain conditions. We produce those things which our productive resources enable us to produce and from which we can derive the maximum income yield. Certain commodities yield high returns on the international market—airplanes, tractors, nuclear generators; certain others do not—sugar, bananas, arrowroot. We do not produce the items in the first set (however much we may wish to) because we do not have the productive capacity to do it; we produce those in the second set because, of the things which we can produce, these yield the highest returns. At the same time we need many of the items in the first set. It is our here-and-now capacity, our actualised potential, which in the last resort defines our dependence, and it must be emphasised that capacity is not a function of wishing, nor is successful technique a function of dogma.

The art of manoeuvring within the range is the art of government—an art which, one hopes, will attract the attention of the politicians we elect to office. Successfully practised it results in growth trends in the economy and enables us to say that we have good government. Conversely lack of growth is a measure of poor government. The targets in successful international manoeuvring include the following: attracting foreign capital on the best terms available; obtaining technical and financial assistance from the U.N. and other media which provide them; entering into or initiating international associations which would further our interests; negotiating trade pacts which are favourable to us. Locally it would include fiscal and monetary policies as well as direct government participation in the field of production. This is the government function in its economic aspects.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Foreign investment has always been a thorny subject. We both need it and mistrust it. Castro's historic expropriations merely exemplify the extreme consequences which mistrust can bring.

Foreign investors are not today the exploiters they once were because they operate within a framework of internationally accepted regulations. When an independent country accepts

be as favourable as one would like, but good government is a surety that it was the best obtainable. It is not a matter of take it or leave it, but rather of how to take it, since have it we must.

Mr. Eustace's mistrust of foreign capital enabled him to discern investments with negative roles, and for which he has a ready remedy. "But when," he writes, "these investments play a negative role in the development of our country they should be nationalised."

The difficulty with this statement is that the condition is not a normal one, otherwise there is every reason to terminate the exploitation. Foreign investments are welcomed—are sought, in fact—because they are expected to, and invariably, do make a positive contribution to economic development—it is all a matter of the terms under which it comes in. Poor government, or government by self-seekers whose indicators of progress are rates of flow into their pocket may—and do—negotiate harmful contracts, but this is not something a good government and alert citizenry cannot change.

As for nationalisation as a policy, what need be said? Socialist preachment of nationalisation is premised on social and not economic foundations: it is designed, not to increase production or even to maintain it, but to reduce disparities in wealth. If the British Labour Party succeeds in nationalising steel its consequence will not be any increase in production or pro-

ductivity, but the reallocation of claims to income at present enjoyed by a small circle. It has, however, been seized upon by many, including non-socialists, who attribute to it certain magical properties of economic healing, but which, on final analysis, only reflects either ideological bankruptcy or animosity directed towards present wealth-owners.

The idea of nationalisation without compensation deserves out-of-hand condemnation. It is unfair. Responsibility for any investment contract unfavourable to the borrower country rests exclusively on the government which permitted it, and either they pay the penalty or not one. The duty of a succeeding better government would be to re-negotiate the contract and not off-hand to expropriate, and certainly not to expropriate without due compensation.

One point needs to be hastily made: exacting a penalty from members of an erring government has meant, in certain parts of the world, persecution to the point of execution. Not only is this barbarous, but it fails to recognise that a people always—everywhere, everytime—get precisely the sort of government they deserve. If irregularities in the discharge of political responsibility are suspected then commissions of inquiry should be set up to investigate such charges. And if they are proven true then the guilty person should be tried under existing Civil Law and not under any Political Code however constituted.

THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE MUST REMAIN INVIOLEATE

By ALFIE ROBERTS

St. Vincent is at one of the greatest crossroads of its whole history. For today, when formerly subjugated peoples are ruling themselves, and those under colonial oppression are striving to rule themselves, we in St. Vincent—especially the supposedly enlightened political combatants—are now to be heard calling for "literacy tests" or some such methods in order to keep so-called illiterate or semi-illiterate persons from seeking political office. This discriminatory call is, to say the least, not only astonishing, but downright reactionary. And made more so at a time when Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia, Salazar in Angola, Mozambique and so-called Portuguese Guinea, Vorster in South Africa and people like Governor Wallace and the Klan in the Southern United States are basing their subjugation of the black man on the premise that this man is illiterate, unlettered and untutored and therefore must be kept out of the legislative apparatus, thus clearing the way for

rule by the learned few, the elite, the ones of the superior intellect—the know-all—the bigoted few.

The Kenyans, among others, between 1952–53 had to wage an armed struggle against an arrogance that was imposed on them by the imperialists. They waged war and resolutely opposed the view advanced by Sir Patrick Renison, the then Governor of Kenya, that they were not ready for self-rule, when he directly accused Jomo Kenyatta, the recognised leader for Kenyan self-rule, of being "an African leader to darkness and death." Today Kenyatta is the head of an independent Kenya within the Commonwealth, and doing no worse a job, and probably a better one than that done by some European countries when they were at Kenya's corresponding state of development.

Southern Rhodesia is today always in the news. And one of the major planks of the racist white minority group is, that the Africans are

"Better ride donkey dat can carry you, dan horse dat throw you".

foreign capital the acceptance is a legal contract with agreed terms. The terms may not yet be ready to rule themselves, and therefore must be excluded from representing their people because they are backward and ignorant. In the Southern United States, the Afro-American has been waging a relentless battle for the removal of the poll tax and a literacy test which are directed to them so as to exclude them from participating in the legislative life of America. Now lo and behold in St. Vincent, remours abound that literacy tests must now be introduced so as to eliminate the uneducated from seeking political office, and all because of the fact that the political combatants see politics as a game of musical chairs—a scramble for political office.

In 1627 the Earl of Carlisle was granted most of the Lesser Antilles, including St. Vincent, under a charter which stipulated that laws were to be made:

"with the Consent, Assent, and Approbation of the freeholders of the said Province, or the greater part of them thereunto to be called."

The majority of the people in St. Vincent at this period were the Yellow Caribs, but their rights were not protected by this colonial charter. This charter was specifically promulgated "in order to encourage immigration (of white colonists) to the colony." Henceforth the British Crown "would frequently promise or grant representative institutions." Therefore the attendant rights and privileges of this charter were confined to the whites who were a minority in the island. And further it was only a minority of this white minority which wielded decisive political power when representative institutions were established in the island in 1768.

In 1786 the Legislature comprised nineteen (19) members, three (3) for each of the five (5) parishes, two (2) for Kingstown, and two (2) for the Grenadines. And the qualification for membership in the Legislature was fifty (50) acres of land in cultivation, or an income of \$1,440.00 a year, and for Kingstown, a house of the yearly rental value of \$480.00. In order to elect these members, the elector or voter had to have a Freehold of ten (10) acres or a house in Kingstown of \$96.00 per year rental value, or \$48.00 elsewhere. It can therefore be plainly seen that to be an elected member and a voter one had to be in the bracket of the property-owning and privileged few. The vast majority of the population was composed of slaves. In the middle, there were some "free coloured and Negro inhabitants (who) were in an anomalous position in the middle; able to own property but with few civil rights." And the division of the society was completed with the

"rich white planters, merchants and paid white employees." So we have a mass of slaves, some freed men of colour who had "few civil rights" and also disenfranchisement within the white minority. Hume Wrong states this disenfranchisement in his "Government of the West Indies" (1923), page 41, as follows:

"The low freehold qualifications meant that all white land owners could vote, but none except the land owners, and this gave rise to complaints among the merchants that they were discriminated against in legislation especially in laws concerning the payment of debt. The Assembly in fact soon came to represent only the planting and slave-owning interests. (emphasis mine).

Here we see discontent setting in because a certain section of the society which was excluded from the legislature and from voting, was hostile to legislation affecting their interests. During this same period—the late eighteenth century—discontent among the mass of the population had set in because of a usurpation of their lands by white colonists from North America, Antigua and Barbados. The venerated Ebenezer Duncan in "Constitutional Development in St. Vincent" (1950), pages 9-10, said concerning this unrest that:

"It is not too much to assume that the possibility was that if the Caribs were allowed representation in the Legislature there might not have been any conflict of the magnitude of the Carib War at the time of its occurrence. The Carib leaders exhibited a marked degree of intelligence."

We again see here that conflict will always manifest itself when the great mass of people are not enfranchised and when elitist concepts hold sway. And in this period of the 1780's we therefore see discontent by the great mass of people and a white faction because of their non-participation in the legislative life of the country.

Three earth-shaking events were to take place which profoundly affected the administration of these territories. In 1769 the Great French Revolution took place, and bringing the middle classes to power. This epoch-shaking event had its repercussions in Haiti in August 1791 when the slaves revolted. The struggle lasted for twelve years—1803, resulting in the establishment of the first independent Negro state in the Western Hemisphere. And in 1865 the great Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica took place. In St. Vincent, as elsewhere, banners of revolt were raised by the mass of the people (especially the Black Caribs) in 1771, and again in 1789—1804 which later revolt coincided with the war of liberation in Haiti. The definitive results of these struggles were the

abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and in 1833, the emancipation of the slaves. Eric Williams makes the point in his "Capitalism and Slavery" (1961), pages 201—202, that:

"Contrary to popular and even learned belief.....as the political crisis (over slavery) deepened in Britain, the most dynamic and powerful social force in the colonies was the slave himself (emphasis mine). This aspect of the West Indian problem has been studiously ignored..... To coercion and punishment he (the slave) respond with indolence, sabotage and revolt..... Pressure on the sugar planter from the capitalists in Britain was aggravated by pressure from the slaves..... In communities like the West Indies..... the governor of Barbados wrote "the public mind is ever tremblingly alive to the dangers of insurrection."

It was therefore the great mass of people moving on to the stage of history in Haiti, St. Vincent and elsewhere, who forced the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves. The national question was here coinciding with the international one. And these steps opened the way for the masses to be represented by the people of their choice, in the legislature, since they were now in a position to meet the qualifications for membership in the Legislature, and also the right to vote; for among other pursuits they were purchasing estates and small lots of land from their bankrupt owners.

But the representation of the freed men and their right to vote were not to be, because it was held, among other things, that these men would administer the country which was formerly ruled by plantocrats, the professional-commercial classes, "civil servants and paid estate agents, attorneys and overseers (and) 'book-keepers'." The white and experienced minority had a great opportunity to work together with their less experienced fellowmen to set up an honest and efficient administration with the first priority of teaching the great mass of people to read and write. But this ideal of true democracy was frustrated, and instead the minority white colonists asked Britain to take over the administration of the colony. In 1877 St. Vincent was handed a new Constitution providing for a wholly Nominated Legislative Council of six members. Crown Colony rule became the order of the day and emphatically because of the fact, according to Hume Wrong in his "Government" (1923) page 51, that the land-owning classes were:

people born and bred to regard slavery as their very life (and whose) attitude was natural, for their livelihood

IF WE MUST DIE (Reprinted from Guyana Independence Issue New World Magazine)

If we must die, let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock of our accursed lot.
If we must die, O let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honour us though dead.
As kinsmen we must meet the common foe.
Though far outnumbered let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one death
blow.

What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly
pack,
Pressed to the wall, but fighting back.

CLAUD MACKAY.

was secured by slaves, and even so, none too surely in these days of decline; and behind all lay the terrible apprehension of a negro rising and a race war....."

Further, this introduction of Crown Colony rule was hastened by the great Morant Bay uprising of 1865 which was directed against the political, social, economic and ecclesiastical abuses of the day; specifically "..... when the freed workers of Jamaica petitioned Queen Victoria in 1865 for land which they could cultivate themselves....." but to which Victoria replied in a rude manner. The logical thing to have done was to extend the franchise to the freed men who were willing to learn and advance. But bigotry dies hard.

It would be of some interest to state here that it was Lord Eyre, Governor of Jamaica at the time of Morant Bay, who also carried out the hatchet-man job of abolishing the ".....self governing constitution....." of St. Vincent, between 1854—59, and that a famous saying of his was ".....that he neither knew nor cared for the laws of Jamaica—the Secretary of State is my Law". It is indeed a very sad state of affairs, when today we see opposition parties at the colonial stage, repeatedly appealing to the Secretary of State to settle internal political bickerings. In this, they are no better than notorious Lord Eyre, a colonial administrator. And as usual they blame the "ignorant masses" for any chaotic state of affairs in the territories. Yet the blame may well be elsewhere, in that

these opposition parties have up to now failed to win the confidence of the people.

A certain pattern of development should have been clear: that it is the movement of the masses, whether on the national, or international level, that have determined and will continue to determine the liquidation of obstacles to progress.

In 1913 a St. Vincent Representative Government Association was formed utilising the slogan, "Crown Colony must go," and therein demanding a return to the elective process. This upsurge of the right to rule one-self was necessarily influenced by what was happening in the international arena. For it was the period of World War I, 1914-18, "... a war for the division of the world, for the partition and repatriation of colonies, 'spheres of influence', repatriation of finance capital etc. ...", the Irish Rebellion of 1916, and most significant of all, the Great October Russian Revolution of 1917. Nearer home, Trinidad had been brought to a virtual standstill by the great strike of 1919, and very important, our nationals who had gone to war, returned home from the various theatres of this conflict with their consciousness lifted. Agitation for a return to elected government was now the order of the day, and after the Wood Commission came and went, a semi-elected legislature came into being in 1925. Membership in the legislature was still hinged on property and income considerations, and elections were also limited by property, income and payment of taxes considerations. The masses were left out. But they were now allowed three elected members.

In 1939 a further extension of the franchise was granted, the result of agitation and unrest in the whole Caribbean, which began in St. Kitts in 1935. Coinciding with this movement of the Caribbean masses was the Fascist Italian invasion of Abyssinia which aroused the latent hostility of all colonial peoples, against the outrages of imperialism. St. Vincent also protested this Italian outrage. The international question and the national uprising in 1935 therefore heralded the new Constitution of 1937, in which the elected representatives of the people were increased from three (3) to five (5). It was pressure from below throughout the turbulent thirties that forced this advance, even though property and income qualifications etc., still held sway. And this power of the people must never be lost sight of, otherwise we lapse into all sorts of apologies for the progress we make. Foremost in this struggle for progress were the people who took part in the '35 activities and also George A. McIntosh, the great political activist.

In 1961, adult franchise, which was won by the struggle and blood of common men all over

the Caribbean, was introduced in the territory. Property and income qualifications were now all swept away and qualifications for elected membership—note the qualifications—were and now are that a person, according to Section 27 of the St. Vincent (Constitution) Order in Council, 1960, page 15:

- "(a) is a British subject of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, and
- (b) has resided in St. Vincent for a period of twelve months immediately before the date of his nomination for election or is domiciled and resident in St. Vincent at that date, and
- (c) is able to speak, and unless incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, to read the English Language with a degree of proficiency sufficient to enable him to take an active part in the proceedings OF THE Council," (emphasis mine).

Any call for literacy tests etc. for prospective members of the Legislature and municipal bodies can be considered as a call for the great mass of the population to undergo these tests also, knowing the literacy standards in the country. But this must not be allowed to happen, otherwise we risk becoming the laughing-stock of the whole developing area. Rumors of this literacy test business rent the air, and if true and implemented, we hereby reopen the elitist concept of government by the chosen few, and give grist to the mill of people who are just waiting for just such opportunities to exclaim "We told you so". It is only by a serious explanation of issues to the people and their organisation at grass roots level, that meaningful change can take place; and this is not a job that one can really do well, if political leaders can only spare their time after working hours. This business of politics is a full time one.

Not even in the days of Ancient Greece did literacy pose a limitation to representation. The Greek City-States comprised small territories like ours, the largest of which was Athens in which direct democracy was preferred over representative government. And it is stated by C.L.R. James in his "Modern Politics" (1960) page 8, that Athens required two things of their representatives:

- "(1) that he had fought in the wars, and
- (2) that he had paid his taxes, also, I think, that his family, his old parents were properly seen after. They did not ask whether you could read or you could write. I would suspect that a great number of them were illiterate." (emphasis mine)

This is not to say that literacy is not important. It is a vital necessity. But we must guard against invoking its lack to prevent people from

voting and seeking political office. The democratic ideals that we boast about are supposed to have come from Greece; let us extend these ideals.

The Aftermath of World War II was pregnant with political movements that aided the introduction of adult franchise. In 1944 a merger between the international African Service Bureau and the Pan-African Congress was effected, out of which came the Pan-African Federation and which became the British section of the Pan-African Congress Movement. And in 1945 the Fifth Pan-African Congress at which colonial trade unions, labour movements and African nationalist forces were well represented. And one of the resolutions passed unanimously at this Congress, approved

"... the urgent need to reform the constitutions of the various Caribbean islands ... along the lines of internal self-government based on universal adult suffrage as a condition precedent to the establishment of West Indian Federation.....hand in hand with constitutional advance in each of the territorial units to be federated, there must go a radical transformation of the present agrarian structure of West Indian economy, linked with educational, scientific and technical and social reforms at all levels."

For a detailed knowledge of this period one can read George Padmore's "Pan-Africanism or Communism."

In 1949, India gained its independence, while Burma gained theirs in 1948, and then the Peoples Republic of China was formed after an epic revolutionary struggle of over twenty years. In 1951 Kwame Nkrumah, a member of the Pan-American Congress came to power on a popular wave in West Africa. So too did the Eight Army here in St. Vincent in 1951. Again it was the struggle of masses in all colonial lands that forced the changes that were made.

The pattern of this exercise should have been very clear by now. I retraced these historical steps to show that changes only come about by sustained struggles of so-called ignorant and illiterate people; and that it is their mobilization and organisation in an enlightened manner that can overcome apathy, stagnation and reaction. The first response to defeat by political organisations in these territories is that the people are ignorant, illiterate etc. This is still too facile an explanation, and it leads to reaction.

When it has been asked of the politicians whether they have made attempts to attract people to their Parties (a foolish question in a way) they have always answered yes, but we must use what we get. Therefore Political Parties in order to keep operating, must operate with whatever people join them. And the people whom we all believe are literate and bright,

and should take part in politics, do not, while others do. Hence it is obvious that we will have semi-literate people seeking political office. And so, the way to combat this problem is not to call for literacy tests as rumor has it, but to get down on a full-time basis, to serious political education, agitation and propaganda. To call for literacy standards seems an indirect one to have political organisations comprise secondary and university trained people and others bordering on this standard; it indirectly calls for literary tests for all the present incumbents both at the national, Town Board and Village Council levels, and it then finally leads to the question: Who will set these literacy standards and what criteria will be needed etc. We may be unleashing a whole series of chain reactions throughout the society, than we least expect, and which may lead to violence, especially if the wishes of constituent electorates are violated.

It would seem that a new approach to politics is needed in these islands and that an admonition by Frantz Fanon in his "Wretched of the Earth" (1964) page 151, may well be our guide:

"Everything can be explained to the people, on the single condition that you really want them to understand. And if you think that you don't need them and that on the contrary they may hinder the smooth running of the many limited liability companies whose aim it is to make the people even poorer, then the problem is quite clear.

For if you think that you can manage a country without letting the people interfere, if you think the people upset the game by their mere presence, whether they slow it down or whether by their natural ignorance they sabotage it, then you must have no hesitation: you must keep the people out. Now, it so happens that when the people are invited..... they do not slow the movement down but on contrary they speed it up."

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE CIVIL SERVICE

By CLEM ITON

In earlier times the Civil Servant existed mainly as a private assistant to an important state official holding office under the Crown. Against this background it is easy to understand why public officers at all levels were assigned by patronage, and why nepotism was rife in government departments.

Today our Civil Service is essentially an executive arm of government. In this context, and

"Never cut your nose to spite your face."

in the light of imminent constitutional changes it is imperative that consideration be given to the role to be played by the St. Vincent Civil Service.

Before the advent of the Ministerial system, in 1960, the St. Vincent Civil Service may be said to have been merely an instrument of Colonial policy, with certain Senior Officers drawn from the Metropolitan country to ensure that policies and programmes were generally carried out in accordance with the masters' rules and regulations. In those days the majority of local people who worked in the Civil Service were mainly concerned with routine law and order responsibilities, collection of taxes and other forms of revenue, and the provision of basic government services.

Current tendency is to divide the countries of the world into two categories viz. The developed and the under-developed. Some kind experts prefer to categorise them, developed and developing. If this generosity is accepted, then our 'GEM OF THE ANTILLES' must proudly stand among the developing countries of the world and as a result its Civil Service must recognise that it will have to be faced with new tasks and responsibilities. Like the Civil Service of other developing countries, it must come to grips with the problems of instability which undermine economic development. It must face the task of setting priorities for economic development, of mobilising resources for development, and of solving the administrative problems connected with the almost insurmountable task of rapid economic growth. It must be concerned with the numerous problems arising out of the implementation of a New Constitution and the translation of Constitutional aspirations of the people in concrete terms. It must mould an effective and efficient government organisation and institute the organisational relationships required to bring the people into co-operation with the Government. It also must provide effective media of communication between Government and the people. True St. Vincent may not immediately enjoy independent representation at United Nations or on certain other international organizations but notwithstanding this its Civil Service must share responsibility for advising Government on policies involving matters such as trade relations, emigration, financial and technical assistance, colonialism etc. It may even not be pre-mature to expect the St. Vincent Civil Service to assume its role in the removal of the evils of factionalism, and in generally assisting in the creation of a sense of nationhood within the country for who knows, independence may be nearer than most of us think.

Enumeration of the many tasks above does not mean that Government and administration are new to St. Vincent. The ends of the modern state have, however, been so revolutionised that the purposes of public administration must be completely re-oriented. There are no limits today to the services which the state is called upon to

perform. Peoples' demands upon their Governments have become insistent. Few, if any, are resigned to live in hunger, poverty and ignorance. Nowadays everybody in St. Vincent wants to own a motor-car and a refrigerator, to send his children to the Grammar School or even to the University of the West Indies, and more and more is the Government looked upon as the agency to promote the atmosphere in which these ambitions can become realisable with least delay and with the least effort. In other words, the State is today expected to be the accelerator of social and economic change. It can no longer be the mere preserver of the status quo. It must assume its new role of being chief mover and stimulator of national development and spread the benefits of social and economic progress to the many. In the words of a recent Secretary-General of the United Nations: "In simpler days good administration was important today it is essential". The establishment of a competent Civil Service is therefore of highest priority on the agenda of national development in St. Vincent.

The increase in variety and complex nature of the functions that have to be performed by the Government of St. Vincent has resulted in a serious administrative lag—and consequently there is a big, if not widening gap between the needs to be met and the sufficiency of the machinery to carry on the tasks. Herein lies the greatest challenge to the Civil Service in playing its part in the machinery of Government in a developing and self-governing St. Vincent.

In considering this new role of the Civil Service it is almost impossible to do so satisfactorily without examining some of the problems concerning aspects of its organisation, staffing etc. and also of its relation to politics and the public.

The present pattern is one of British expression. Broadly speaking the structure of the Civil Service provides for the Minor and Subordinate Staff, Clerical Executive and Administrative Classes, and the Professional and Technical Classes. Of course there are also the Police, Nursing and Teaching Establishments. Currently there is no real barrier between the Clerical, Executive and Administrative Classes, and it is true to say that the Permanent Secretaries and senior members of the administrative class are products of the rank and file of the service. It is also true to say that the strictly professional and technical classes are somewhat subordinate to the generalist administrators.

Initially the greatest single obstacle to progress in a self-governing St. Vincent will be the shortage of trained people, willing and able to fill the various Civil Service posts. Politically instability must disappear, and the St. Vincent Civil Service must develop the highest integrity, morale and prestige so that it will be in a position to compete with local and foreign commercial and industrial enterprises in attracting the best material for service in

its ranks. In approaching its new responsibilities of promoting social and economic development and dealing with all the other issues of self-government, the Civil Service structure will have to provide for specialisation in many fields. Development planning requires planning experts, sociologists, administrators and various others, all trained to understand the implications of policy and the management of affairs and men, an area of responsibility which may be better vested in expert hands than left entirely in the hands of the generalist administrator. It follows therefore that notwithstanding the impositions of the Gardner-Brown Commission of 1965, the Civil Service may have to endure certain reforms in an effort to ensure that the Government is given access to the best available advice on major issues and also to ensure that Government machinery is re-oriented to meet the demands of accelerated development. There is just as dire a shortage of trained personnel in local industry and commerce as there is in the Civil Service, but despite this, use must be made wherever practicable, of the knowledge and experience available outside the Service. It may be necessary to organise a system of lateral movement into the Civil Service from the private institutions within the island and from other branches of the public service. This may not meet with the ready acceptance of the Serving Civil Servants who may regard it as unwelcome intrusion, posing new threats to their promotion and general advancement; but if the only basis is organisation of the executive machinery of government with a view to getting the most efficiency and effectiveness out of it, then there can be much in its favour.

Public Administration, it is said, has its very beginning in a political act: the decision of the Government to assume certain functions. It goes without saying, therefore, that the Government must be very much involved in the provision of the impetus and leadership needed for better administration and for the introduction of administrative reform. It is held in some quarters, that there must first exist at the highest political levels, a deeply felt need for the efficient performance of government services and a determination to overcome many obstacles. It is nevertheless agreed that the ideal situation is where such leadership operates simultaneously at both the political and administrative levels. The active support of the head of Government is needed to provide stimulus for strengthening the Civil Service. At the same time the permanent officials can do a great deal to maintain interest among political leaders in the administrative reform movement. Senior officers should stimulate the formulation and implementation of reform measures and must make their subordinates aware of their new role and responsibility in a developing St. Vincent.

In most developing countries the problem which confronts the Civil Service concerning its relation

to politics is one of considerable importance which has far-reaching effects on overall development. Recent electioneering for, and the holding of General Elections in St. Vincent have perhaps left the atmosphere too disturbed for the existing relation to be adjudged as normal. Under a system or parliamentary government, however, it is almost impossible to say that the Civil Service is not involved in political matters, because once a Minister takes a political decision, from the time the Civil Service begins to implement that decision it is involved. Nevertheless this role of merely interpreting and implementing political decisions should not be allowed to draw the Civil Service into party politics. Civil Servants in St. Vincent may become members of political parties but it has long been the accepted principle (though perhaps too little observed), that "the public interest demands the maintenance of political impartiality in the Civil Service and of confidence in that impartiality as an essential part of the Structure of Government". In quite a few developing countries there have been trends to move into one party government and to pressurise the Civil Service into becoming a party wing. In these situations the struggle of the Civil Service to avoid annexation has been tremendous. Important lessons may however been drawn from certain African Countries, e.g. Ghana and Nigeria where the Civil Services which had remained impartial and uncompromising were able to provide continuity in the post-revolution period. Despite the general shortage of talent in St. Vincent one must be reluctant to advocate that Civil Servants should be associated with political party policy formulation. Of course St. Vincent and other developing countries need not go entirely in the way of their imperial masters but whatever system be devised, experience should favour one that permits the Civil Servant to conceive it his duty to advise on the basis of the facts rather than on the basis of a particular political party doctrine.

Whatever be the form of the state, there are these constituent elements, viz. the political leaders, the career officials and the citizens—'JOHN PUBLIC'. The citizens are entitled to information on the way their Government works—they want information on public officers, their services and functions. This is perhaps one good reason for setting up Government Information Services, but as Adam Curle observes in his work entitled—Educational Strategy for Developing Societies:—"Government information service would be of greater use—and receive more attention—if, instead of extolling the virtues of the President and vituperating the opposition, they would use their skill to persuade people that they could save their children who die in infancy, that they could have more to eat, and that they really are equal citizens of a country which is on the move".

Irrespective of the policies of the political leaders,

implementation is the job of the Civil Service and in the exercise of this function the Civil Service must project the right image to the public. Career officials must deal with the public in a manner so as to reflect a spirit of respect and consideration for the citizen. Granted that problems will be intensified in areas of illiteracy and ignorance, such as St. Vincent, but the Civil Service must be capable of special ingenuity and adaptation of methods in order to cope with the situation. At all levels, Civil Servants should strive to foster efficiency and so conduct their dealings with the public as to make it abundantly clear that the first object of the Civil Service is national development and the people's welfare. In St. Vincent the members of the public are far more critical of the Civil Service than they are of employees in the private sector. Evidently this springs from the fact that it is not clearly realised that contributions are also made to the salaries of Bank Clerks etc.; nevertheless criticisms should not be allowed to impair the quality of service to the public and the cultivation of correct attitudes by all Civil Servants.

According to E.N. Gladden, "The requirements of the Civil Service are that it shall be impartially selected, administratively competent, politically neutral and imbued with the spirit of service to the community." In considering any future role the Civil Service is to play in St. Vincent it is highly relevant to examine its present role in relation to these requirements. Even if it be conceded that machinery exists to provide for some measure of impartial selection, could any but the very imbecile achieve satisfactory administrative competence, political neutrality (forgetting the added temptations of an election year) or inspiration with the spirit of service to the community? The present state is worse than that of a year and a half ago nevertheless some realistic appraisal of the structural inadequacy of the machinery, to face the responsibilities of the future, is possible if the matter is viewed from the standpoint of certain revelations of the Gardner-Brown Commission on the General Structure and Salaries and Conditions of Service of the Civil Service in the Leeward and Windward Islands August, 1965:—

At para 19 of its Report, under Co-ordination of Government Machinery, the Commission state:— "The Commission is left with the strong impression that Constitutional Development has got ahead of Service development or, put in another way, that the ministerial system has been superimposed on a structure which has never been designed or redesigned, to take it. As a result there is little evidence of any proper co-ordination of government effort, and a mutual suspicion between politicians and Civil Servants... It will suffice to say here that while some of the services are less unhappy than others, none is particularly happy, none is well-disciplined and

few if any officers really feel that they are playing a worthwhile part in a worthwhile career".

On the Relationship between Ministers and Civil Servants, the Commission set out at para 20,—"Another result of the inadequacy of the structure to receive the superimposition of the ministerial system is that, while the personal relations between Ministers and their Senior Official appear to be good, it is doubtful whether in many cases either party properly understands what is the proper function of the other party. Too frequently Permanent Secretaries are regarded as Clerks or glorified Secretaries, and equally too frequently Permanent Secretaries stand in such unreasonable awe of their Ministers that they take the safe and wholly inadequate course of tendering no advice at all, and of leaving it to the Minister to work out his own salvation and his own answer. In the circumstances it is doubtful whether many of the Ministers are serviced in the manner that any Minister has a right to expect, and it is not surprising that there is, to put it mildly, a Ministerial School of thought that is contemptuous of Civil Servants, as a bunch of time Servers who are secure so long as they do nothing. This is a thoroughly unhealthy position alike for Ministers and for Civil Servants. It is essential that the public Service should come to be recognised by Ministers as the one sane and stable element in the chaotic world of politics which under no circumstances can let the Government down. Conversely, Ministers who criticise the public service in public must realise that they are in fact criticising the machine for whose running they are responsible, and that unguarded statements in public may well lose them the loyalty on which their own political lives ultimately depend. Civil Servants must be more self-confident and less timid. It is not a case of one class dominating the other but of a partnership of mutual respect and effort."

On Defects of attitude, para 23 of the Commission's Report records:—"With a few exceptions the 'Customer Service' is appalling. The Commission received plenty of evidence on this and gathered some at first hand themselves. Governments invariably acquire their 'public image' from the behavior of those departments with whom the general public has to come into contact—the Post Office, Customs, Inland Revenue and the like—and if the Counter-service is ill-mannered or slack the public service as a whole earns a bad reputation. It is probable that much of the criticism is justified. One Commissioner was told a story that at one G.P.O. the only counter-clerk on duty with a long queue of customers waiting found the call of the ice-cream bell irresistible; the shutter came down while the lady sauntered out, bought her ice-cream and thoughtfully ate it. Conduct of this sort is bred of lack of discipline, lack of supervision and a 'don't care attitude among the young which needs ruthless treatment if the 'image' is to be improved

There is, however, one thing to be said for staff whose behaviour comes in for this sort of criticism. Many of them worked under conditions which are sufficiently archaic and delapidated to daunt even the most enthusiastic."

There are several other parts of the Commission's Report which are of particular relevance to St. Vincent today. Now that the meagre financial benefits have long disappeared and figures don't only carry currency values, time should be taken by all Civil Servants, politicians and other persons who are seriously concerned about the future of the Civil Service, to read and digest its contents.

A Career Service based on merit and fitness lies at the very core of modern public administration. As a result, Personnel Administration is a major requirement in the Civil Service; since efficiency in the conduct of government business depends largely on the ability of the people employed to do the work. True improvements in organisation, and in methods and procedure will be rendered ineffective if the personnel concerned are not qualified, but even qualified personnel can be rendered incompetent and ineffective if the correct atmosphere is not cultivated. A Career Service in a developing and self-governing St. Vincent must be built only upon the merit principle—the principle that entry, appointment and promotion to a higher grade are open only to people who have proved their merit and fitness by objective and impartial tests. Such a Service should offer the prospects of a dignified and respected career on a full-time basis and should attract and keep persons of superior capacities within its ranks. If merit, fitness and public interest are to be the criteria for selection to the promotion in the St. Vincent Civil Service, then political or private influence should not count, Patronage appointments demoralise a Career Service. In good quarters, any attempt on the part of an officer or candidate to seek preferment by influence results in his disqualification altogether. The effects of the 'Spoils' system is adequately described by the following two extracts:— The first, from a report by certain United Nations experts—"Such a system denies the right of every citizen, provided he has the necessary qualifications, to compete on equal terms for employment in Government Service. It usually results in depriving the Government of the Services of the most able men, for their places are taken by those who possess only the necessary political influence. Existing Civil Servants are discouraged from putting their hearts into their work, for they feel their advancement depends not on their ability and zeal but on the chances of political and private favouritism." The second, is from a statement by Professor Arthur Lewis addressing a group of economists in Ghana:—"We hear about corruption in under-developed countries but the harm done by bribery or by theft seldom exceeds hundreds of thousands of pounds a year, and though

HAIROUN

Hairoun! home of the wretched,
A Sceptred isle set in a western sea,
An Antillean gem of poverty and greed,
Where few men thrive and many suffer,
Where women bear children by the hour,
A land with no industries soever
A land of small farmers without any farms
A land of huge farms without any farmers.

You may think there will be trouble soon;
I can almost hear Cuba! Zanzibar! now
Hairoun!
But let me hasten to reassure
That politicians debate the budget still,
And all this talk of the people's will
Is sacrificed, of course, at the right price.

Hairoun, AWAKE! and earn once more your
Carib name.
Cast out all grudge and hate
And if you try to lay the blame
Remember none is guiltless in this state.
Rid yourself once and forever
Of all trace of colour and favour
Which still persists despite your clamour,
And bend your back to the task ahead,
To cleanse your shores of poverty and greed.

K. M. COOMBS.

morally deplorable, is quite small when compared with the harm which is done by appointing people to big jobs which they are not competent to do properly."

If the qualities of a good Civil Servant be accepted as integrity, intelligence, ability, impartiality and devotion to duty, it follows that he must uphold certain high principles in the execution of his duties. Among other things he must exercise his responsibilities and authority within limits which are acceptable to the nation as a whole, and he must reflect that he exists to serve the interests of the people and not the selfish interests of the ruler or of a ruling class.

For many years the St. Vincent Civil Service has been grappling with manpower problems, which, it appears, have grown most acute recently, revealing a frightening situation. If a non-political, competent and effective Career Service is to form the backbone of national administration in a self-governing St. Vincent, then politicians, Civil Servants (at all levels) and citizens (in all walks of life) must realise, and believe in, its value and strive to develop it, not because it is an economic expedient, but because it is just right.

THE POLITICAL CRISIS

BY KENNETH JOHN

St. Vincent is in a condition of political normlessness. The country has been devastated by partisan politics for the last six months or so and can easily be polarised into evenly balanced Government and anti-Government forces. There is hardly a conversation today which does not revolve around political issues. The society appears to lack consensus, the political atmosphere electrified during the last campaign speeches remains emotionally charged, and a stalemate has been created. The impasse has crystallised around the very vexed question of Associated Status under a PPP Government which emerged a disputed victor at the last General election. The legitimacy of this Government is to be tested in the Court.

That, in a nutshell, is the hard core of bald facts. It is true that feelings run high in the community and that the protracted period of uncertainty has tended to produce evidence of desperation in various forms. But things are not as explosive as the irresponsible Press will have the world believe. The cheap journalism characteristic of these parts thrives on shock appeal and has wrung whatever little capital it could out of the unfortunate situation in St. Vincent. The trouble is that journalistic prophecies tend to carry an element of self-fulfillment in them; by putting words, so to speak, in the people's mouths journalists often bring about the events which they chose to anticipate. It is the object of this paper to separate out the real issues which have been subjected to persistent distortion and buried under a welter of sensationalism. An unbiased presentation of neutral facts will be put forward but the conclusion is personal. The writer believes that back of it all is the problem of grinding poverty. If there is a thesis it is that the political crisis is essentially an economic crisis.

After the disintegration of the First West Indies Federation in 1961 the British Colonial masters as well as the local political elites were at a loss to concoct a plausible political formula for the smaller British Caribbean territories. At first a Little Eight Federation founded on nothing but sheer emotional reaction to the "big" islands of Jamaica and Trinidad by whom they had been deserted, was put forward. But when the emotional base dissolved with time only the little political giants were left standing with their political precocity that far outstrips the potential of the little islands whose lot they control. The "dog-eat-dog" philosophy which Sparrow had anticipated began to emerge. The

pundits quarrelled among themselves. Barbados sought and got Independence. Then the British political genius pounced upon the novel idea of Associated Status, or quasi-Independence, a sort of Dependent Independence. This advanced constitutional status, among other things, localised large areas of political power and all that goes with it. This was a signal for the intensification of the political struggle in all the islands. Luckily, most were saved the possibility of internal crisis by the dominance of one party. In St. Vincent, as in Grenada, this is not so. The island is split right down the centre into PPPites and Labourites, with capital letters. The happenings in St. Vincent all seem to flow from these few facts: the localisation of power, the presence of two militant parties of equal strength, the presence in them of activists lusty after power, and out of them of an electorate striving for an existence.

It was natural that news of the imminent grant of Internal Self-Government would evoke a heightened political interest. In St. Vincent, precisely because both parties are evenly balanced in strength the ruling party could not afford even to go through the motions of the democratic process when dealing with the opposition. Such a magnanimous approach might court defeat and power, as we will show later, is all important now. So the Government proceeded to write its own constitution without inviting the Labour Opposition to participate. True various bodies and organisations sent in memoranda but recommendations were for the most part overlooked. When finally the Government decided to debate the draft constitution in the legislative council their version of the shape the constitution should take was already in the hands of Colonial Office. The Opposition declined to debate what was a fait accompli lest they lent currency to the notion that they had had a hand in the prefabricated document. They preferred to take their case to Colonial office.

The differences of the two parties were fairly well defined on two or three issues. The PPP wanted a 18-man unicameral legislature with two or three nominated members sitting in the Lower House. They obviously feared obstruction from an Upper House which tends usually to be a bastion of vested interests. The Labour Party however preferred a bicameral legislature, eleven elected representatives and several appointed senators. They believed that they could in this way draft into the political process the intelligentsia who are terrorised

by the cut and thrust of partisan politics. As a matter of passing interest the "Vincentian", pursuing a policy chained to a colonial past, also advocated a Senate constituted of the local nobility—the MBE's and OBE's, and the rest. In addition, believing that the youth of the country are with them the Labour Party also clamoured for a reduction of the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen years. Their differences obviously were not insurmountable but, as has become customary, neither side was willing to give a quarter. The Government invited only one Opposition member to go to London as against a Government delegation of some six members. On the other hand the Opposition railed against the inclusion of the Chief Minister's wife on the Government team on the grounds of gross incompetence and much worse. Expectedly the talks ended in a deadlock, which not even the reputed diplomacy of the British Colonial Office strategists could break. Both sides were intransigent and so compromise was ruled out. Colonial Office decided to shelve the issue. Whichever party won the ensuing general election could determine the disputed areas of the Draft.

The general election was held on August 22—the last day on which the incumbent Government could constitutionally rule—and that was a story by itself. The election campaign was the dirtiest in the political annals of the territory. So many of the politicians have been mavericks plying their trade between both parties that they have come to know each other intimately. Private correspondence, secret talks, and confidential discussion thus became the chief weapon in electioneering speeches. In addition there have been relatives fighting on opposing sides with a venom and animosity which only family quarrels can produce. Joshua's nephew, Leroy Commissiong, formerly Secretary-General of the PPP's F.I.A.W.U. along with his mother (Joshua's sister) were more than outspoken critics of the PPP Government. They have both been leading speakers on the platform of the Labour Party and its Women's League respectively. Rudolph Baynes who was a Joshuaite during 1951-52 was running against Joshua himself. When it is recalled that a Commission of Enquiry into the Banana Industry instituted by Joshua had discredited Baynes then president of the Banana Association, one can guess at the hatreds underlying such a contest. Levi Latham, a PPP Minister 1957-58 contested for Labour in South Windward. Milton Cato, leader of the Labour Party was challenged by Edgerton Richards who had opposed Ivy Joshua in the 1957 election and had been attached to the Labour Party before joining the PPP. In West St. George Randolph Russell who had

previously contested a Kingstown Board seat on a PPP ticket was now a Labour convert. In South Leeward Herman Young, variously a Joshuaite, anti-Joshua, a member of the PPP 1954, leader of the PLM 1957, and deputy leader of the Labour Party until 1964 in which year he visited London for the express purpose of having the PPP removed from power, now contested on behalf of the PPP. And in the Grenadines Clive Tannis, one time leader of the Opposition, ran for the PPP. It was a blistering election campaign. Civil Servants and teachers, contrary to regulations, canvassed openly for votes on both sides. The "Vincentian", the only newspaper in the island was the focus for anti-PPP propaganda. The local sub-station of the Windward Islands Broadcasting Service was cleverly used by the Government to woo the electorate. Political bribery was rampant. Intimidation and threats of violence were commonplace. The result of the election was a five-four majority for the PPP, though Labour secured a popular majority of just over five hundred votes. More significantly the PPP had won two seats, Kingstown and North Leeward, by 49 and 4 votes respectively.

Immediately after the election the Labour Party filed two election writs. One was based on the supposed irregularity of the Returning Officer in North Leeward who allegedly had written in five new names on the list on election day. The other questioned the validity of the election of Mrs. Joshua who the Labourites are not convinced "is able to read and to speak the English Language with a degree of proficiency to enable her to take an active part in the proceedings of the Council." The PPP in turn filed two writs which Cato deemed vexatious and retaliatory. One challenged Latham's proficiency in English, and the other accused Cato of offering election bribes. Apparently it had never occurred to either camp that the law pertaining to proficiency in English ran completely counter to the spirit of the times and should long ago have been gently laid to rest. The Court was called out of recess in order to expedite matters and have the issues settled before the implementation of the New Constitution. One was led to believe that matters would be handled with quick despatch, and the ensuing drawnout legal battles could hardly have been anticipated.

First of all the PPP claimed that the writs were improperly filed by the Labour Party, and sought the opinion of the Court. After all the pleadings had been heard by a Judge in Chambers and only a decision was awaited, a number of unfortunate incidents followed in train. At a public meeting of the Labour Party a speaker announced that it was widely rumoured that a leading member of the PPP had made remarks

touching upon the integrity of the presiding Judge. The speaker was promptly arraigned before the Court for contempt, and fined. (At the same time another Labour Party activist was fined for inciting violence at a meeting — "If we can't win by ballots, then we will have to resort to bullets" — thus indicating the rising temper of the times). The Judge in turn withheld his decision and withdrew from the case because of the circumstances involving his character. The Chief Justice would himself hear the case. On the eve of the Chief Justice's arrival from Grenada the PPP summoned a special Tuesday Night Public meeting (PPP meetings have for the last 12 years been held normally on Wednesday nights) at which a "bombshell" would be dropped. At this memorable meeting Joshua was the "key-note" speaker who kept his large audience of PPP supporters enthralled as he pontificated on his version of the political situation and paved the way for the endorsement of a Resolution. But Joshua did not read the Resolution. The privilege was reserved for "Comrade Junior Findlay." Findlay read the document and had it ratified by popular acclaim. The Resolution turned out to be contemptuous of the Court and Findlay was sentenced to a two-month imprisonment term.

While all this was happening other events were taking place which indicated a general warming-up of the political situation. To begin with there was the Connell Affair which was brought about by administrative bungling but into which politics was inevitably dragged. Mrs. Connell, a Graduate Mistress at the Girls' High School, had been interdicted on the grounds of gross negligence. She had been invited to assume responsibility for the running of the school some three days before its reopening after the summer holidays, and had asked for a further week to put things in order. The Secondary School Teachers' Association went on strike following a deadlock in negotiations with the Administrator who insisted that Mrs. Connell had erred. The School children demonstrated and picketed Government House. The issue on the surface seemed a simple straightforward Civil Service matter. But politics entered on several fronts. Mrs. Connell is the sister-in-law of a Labour Legislator and it was thought that she had been encouraged to embarrass the Education department. For this reason supporters of the Government forbade their children from participating in the demonstration which was led by relatives of Mrs. Connell and lent moral and other support by force unsympathetic to the Government. The Civil Service Association was planning to offer effective support to Mrs. Connell and had forwarded a resolution to Colonial Office express-

ing lack of confidence in the Administrator. On the other hand, the police, whose hierarchy the Labour Party claims is hostile to them, were ordered to make a show of force to intimidate the students. Luckily, the administrator relented, Mrs. Connell was reinstated without loss of honour and a show-down was averted or, at least, postponed.

Of still more significance than the Connell Affair were the goings-on in the Legislature. It is true to say that, pending the outcome of the Election appeals, the Labour opposition has consistently refused to accept the legitimacy of the PPP Government which has frequently been referred to as "the interim Government", "the temporary Government", "the illegal regime." On the other hand to reinforce the point that they were an effective Government, the parliamentary PPP time and again rode roughshod over many constitutional niceties and generally acted as though the opposition were non-existent. This was particularly evidenced in the persistent interventions from the Chair whenever Labour politicians addressed the House, and we will later show the involvement of the chair with the fortunes of the party. There was even one occasion on which a Minister bluntly refused to answer a legitimate question posed by an Opposition member. Suspension of standing Orders has become the rule. Time-honoured conventions of British Constitutional practice have been jettisoned left, right and centre. Question-time has lost much of its democratic value. Within four months of the last election certificates of urgency were attached to some several bills to have them railroaded in the legislature. "Interests" have not been consulted on proposals which concern them, nor has a public opinion been permitted time to crystallise around vital issues. Members of the Opposition have complained that they receive their Order Papers only hours before the meetings of the Legislature. At least twice Government-sponsored bills were rushed through the House with all three readings taken in a single day. And on both occasions the bills featured significant amendments to the Laws of St. Vincent pertaining to appeals from Judgement. In this way have the PPP rendered subject to appeal judgement given by Judges-in-chambers as well as Judgement given in open court on electoral petitions. The greatest blow of all was delivered when the Government refused to entertain debate on censure motions tabled by the Opposition but used its majority to have them deleted from the Order Paper.

It was this sort of behaviour which prompted a quick reaction from the Labour Party and its friends. It would be remembered that up till then with the introduction of the new consti-

tution the incumbent Government could simply name existing constituencies in which bye-elections would take place to make up the thirteen-man legislature which the PPP advocated. Opposition forces believed that Joshua was using delaying tactics to ward off a Court decision before February. After February he would have secured at least another three of the four additional seats by the simple device of naming his strongholds for the bye-elections, thus rendering the Court decision politically ineffectual. This is the crux of the Labour Party argument. The PPP is a disputed winner. If the writs had been allowed to go through the normal legal processes without "red-herrings" the issue would have been settled before February and a Government given a clear mandate to lead the territory into Associated Status. As things stand it would be highly immoral for the PPP Government to entrench itself with a further three seats which it would have arrogated to itself on the specious authority of an election whose validity has been challenged and which might well turn out against their interests. The PPP case which has been well advertised in the Caribbean press and radio is simply that election petitions are totally irrelevant to constitutional advance.

The unwarranted attack on the judiciary, the precipitate amendment of laws, and the subsequent appeal against the judgement in favour of one of the Labour Party petitions, raised a hue and cry in many quarters in St. Vincent. A number of moribund Associations were suddenly shocked out of limbo to forward resolutions to colonial office asking for a deferment of the New Constitution until the matter had been legally settled. "Mushroom" organisations sprang up overnight, such as the Citizens' Association, to protest against the grant of Internal Self-Government in the prevailing circumstances. The Labour Party not only contacted Colonial Office on the issue but successfully requested an audience with the U.N. sub-committee on colonial affairs. In the mean-time preparation for celebrations for Internal Self-Government went on apace. Various committees had met to select a flag and a national anthem. The programme assistant at the local radio station was pitchforked into the lucrative post of officer-in-charge of Celebrations. He was up and down the Caribbean inviting political VIP's to the celebrations and seeking expert advice as to the form the celebrations should take. It is necessary to state at this point that so badly had the situation deteriorated that a number of important organizations including the Jaycees, the National Youth Council, the Chamber of Commerce, most of the Town Boards and many prominent citizens among whom was numbered

the Leader of the Opposition, declined the invitation to serve on the Committees. The political system had fallen into a state of disequilibrium and things were clearly heading for a crisis. Probably the deletion of the Censure Motions marked a turning-point and thence the Labour Party increasingly seized initiative. At a mammoth public meeting held at the Victoria Park Mr. Cato claimed that he had for sometime been the restraining force in the party but that he was now washing his hands of the whole affair though he was still asking the people to "hold-strain" until Christmas Eve. His patience has been worn thin by a Government which was acting contrary to the spirit if not the letter of the constitution and he waited now only to see what Britain would do. The Administrator had been summoned to appear before Colonial Office and the Labour Party was prepared to bide its time and see what tidings he would bring back.

While the Administrator was briefing his employers on the situation in St. Vincent, Joshua and his deputy appeared in London to present the PPP case. A few days before Christmas the Administrator returned to the colony with the news that he was to be replaced and that the implementation of the new constitution would be postponed until the election petitions had been decided. Furthermore, both political parties were invited to London a second time to settle finally some matters which had reportedly been left over from the previous talks. Significantly among the items slated for discussion were the voting age and the new constituencies. Also, probably in response to resolutions submitted in the interim by a nervous Civil Service Association, certain matters relating to the security of the service and the Public Service Commission were to be revised. The Labour Party was understandably jubilant over the news. Joshua on the contrary denounced Colonial Office policy with the accusation that Britain was back-peddaling and that he would not attend any new talks. Joshua also appeared to whip up some support from his neighbouring counterparts as well as from international free-lance journalists who saw the issue in very simplistic, black-and-white terms — a progressive Government being thwarted by the British in its attempt to procure self-determination and cast off the colonial yoke only because its leader was apparently disliked in high circles. Joshua who is a political fire-brand of the old school made some intemperate remarks during the first flush of his outburst and these may have prompted Colonial Office, and these may have prompted their big-stick quite arrogantly, to resort to their big-stick policy. During the Christmas holidays which Vincentians spent in characteristic peace a British destroyer cruised offshore anticipating

the troubles which its presence might have caused. This gun-boat diplomacy which was exploited by the international press has also won a sympathy for Joshua in much the same way as has the local newspaper which lambasts him weekly.

Early in the year the Speaker and Deputy Speaker travelled to Britain probably as emissaries of the PPP notwithstanding their avowed claim to political neutrality, and appeared to Colonial Office to effect some sort of break-through from the stalemate. They believed that St. Vincent should still move into semi-independence along with her sister islands in February, for if the Court matters a delay of the settlement of the Court matters a delay of about two years would be involved. (This was not idle chatter for they were the solicitors for the PPP in the matter of the election writs). Later in that month a bi-partisan delegation including Mr. Joshua left for London to attend another Constitutional Conference. The Chief Minister had had a change of heart following the British Cabinet reshuffle and the departure of Mr. Fred Lee from the Colonial Secretariat.

In England the contending protagonists fiercely argued their several cases before Commonwealth Office for ten drama-packed days. The talks were held against the background of cables sent by activists on the home front who wished to force the hands of the British. Seventeen stores in Kingstown at the insistence of staunch labourites served notice of impending events (and underlined the potency of the economic factor) by closing their doors to business for one hour. Certain strong-arm methods were also employed to articulate sentiment and pressure Colonial Office into seeing things a particular way. A few days before the delegation left home there was a crude attempt to dynamite the office of Central Housing and Planning Authority. During the heat of the discussions in London there was a "political" fire in Kingstown. On the other hand the bill to grant the New Constitution to the Windwards and Leewards, including St. Vincent, was being debated in Commons and it was imperative that something concrete come out of the talks at that time. Then, after more than a week of tedious wrangling and obstinate bargaining it was announced that a settlement had been reached. The island could assume its new constitutional status, with certain temporary qualifications. There must be new elections before the end of 1968 at which time four seats would be added by an impartial boundaries commission appointed by Colonial Office. The election itself would also be supervised by a British Government appointee. The proposals were obviously geared to meeting the demands of both parties half-way. The PPP had wanted

Associated Status immediately with the Premier empowered to name the four new constituencies. The Labour Party wanted a settlement of the court matters precedent to Statehood in Association but, alternatively were prepared to accept the idea of a fresh general election to determine the issue once and for all. The Labour Party considering their popular majority also feared the gerrymandering of the constituencies by the PPP and suspected the credentials of any PPP nominated supervisor of elections. Indeed, its newspaper support had some four months ago called for just that sort of settlement on the question of elections. The matters relating to the nature of the House and the voting-age were again left over as a privilege for the winner of the '68 election. The Civil Service was consoled with the insertion of a clause providing for the appointment of a Public Service Appeals Board in which they would have a voice. But the crucial factor of the election writs were apparently skirted at the talks and were left back to hang fire in the community. At this juncture it becomes necessary to demonstrate the relationship between the political events and their economic matrix.

It has now become commonplace to suggest that a study of the West Indies is necessarily a study in poverty. Of all the West Indian islands save, perhaps, Monsterrat, St. Vincent poses the gloomiest prospect for the future in naked economic terms. We suffer all the evils of under-development. We are primarily agricultural with a surplus labour force in a hostile world of increasing industrialisation, mass production and advanced technologies. Even with the proper rationalisation of the economy we would be hard put to survive. The bottom has fallen out of the market for our traditional staple products, and ours is an externally-oriented economy. Cotton has been supplanted in the industrial centres by synthetic products. Through complacent marketing arrangements Arrowroot has been ruined by an American monopolist. Sugar which lived a fitful life on a sort of artificial respiration administered in grudging doses through the various Commonwealth Sugar Agreement Acts was strangled out of existence by an indifferent approach to industrial relations on the local front. Only the Banana crop, appropriately called "Green Gold," has pretended to stop the economic mill from grinding to a definite halt, and the banana is an extremely precarious crop in a hurricane-prone area. Moreover, the competition from Jamaica and higher-yielding regions has caused a glut in the market and damped the prospects of bananas as a lasting source of revenue. To crown it all

the rate of population increase has been allowed to soar to a world record-breaking pace, like nobody's business.

But in the West Indies generally the past has continued to decide the present. There has not been a concerted effort to channel energies in other directions and seek alternative avenues for the economic redemption of the country. Instead the traditional staples are to be given a new lease of life. One of the few things on which both parties are agreed is on the reintroduction of Sugar and, one is left to assume, Plantation Society. Government though approaching bankruptcy felt itself obligated to back a loan to defer the eventual collapse of the Arrowroot Industry as constituted. And the policy of the commercial banks is retrograde. Their whole rationale in this day and age is still governed by the old imperial concept of raking in as much profit as possible, as quickly as possible, and the welfare of the host community be damned. It is a shockingly parasitic relationship. The injustice of the operation shows up in the fact that "credit-worthy" people seldom are engaged in productive enterprises which contribute to the real wealth of the country, but are for the most part commission agents, real estate people and folk in the distributive trades who need ready cash to take imported stuff out of the ware-houses in time to handle a quick turn-over. The striking irony of the situation is that while we suffer the indignity of being grant-aided, bank managers implement a "credit-squeeze" policy in the face of a net export of local earnings to the bank's headquarters flourishing in the metropolis of the aid-giving countries! This may be good business in the short run, but it may turn out to be very bad politics in the long run. The Insurance Companies, too, constitute another leakage of local funds and continue to bleed the country to death. Yet instead of directing Government's attention to some of the real problems which threaten to cripple the economy the experts advocate a concentration on infra-structural development and incentive legislation to encourage private foreign investment and tourism which are the officially recommended panacea for the area. Given this gloomy economic setting it is not surprising that there have been some convulsive repercussions in the political superstructure.

In such a stagnant economy young impatient businessmen see little scope for enterprise. The only sure guarantee for a personal business boom is to "ride" the Government in power. Without sounding too apologetic one must state that this is a characteristic of most countries which toe the capitalist line. But because of the poverty in St. Vincent, the correspondingly

overwhelming economic importance of the Government, and the primitive methods employed in carrying out the deals, this aspect of Government and business tends to loom disproportionately large on the social horizon. The Port Contractors is a good case in point. The deep water harbour which was largely a gift by the Canadian Government to the people of St. Vincent was handed over to a small band of PPP supporters. This company has also secured pioneer status to set up industry in various fields. It is an open secret that a Labour Government plan to extend the Port Contractors Company—no doubt to embrace some of its aggrieved friends—and so water down the fantastic profits which go to the few individual shareholders, or take it over as a Government concern. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the House, both appointed on the advice of the Chief Minister, are members of the Port Contractors Company. A Censure Motion against them would have opened the way for a detailed public exposure of their involvement with the destiny of the PPP. So crass economic considerations might well have been the reasons for suppressing a debate in the House, though "the threat to the dignity of the House" was the pretext. And this sort of thing operates fully in the entire business community. The owners of a certain firm lay the charge that some envious Labour Party members of the Town Board prohibited them from completing a building on which they had already spent a considerable sum. Consequently they have become open PPP supporters. The Labour Party in turn has called for a boycott of stout sold by that firm as well as of a brand of beer sold by another alleged supporter of the PPP. Similarly, sanctions must be employed against a certain store the owners of which have committed the cardinal sin of aiding Joshua. The rationalisation is that goods must not be bought from people who are backing the corrupt Government that has hamstrung the progress of the island. Apparently it is better to throw one's money behind businessfolk who help to meet the election expenses of the Opposition Party. It is significant that Labour Party stalwarts are also in the business field in precisely those areas in which they have demanded a boycott of so-called PPP goods.

The alignment of the businessmen in St. Vincent provides deep insight into the power of economic factors in the political maelstrom. One entrepreneur failed to satisfy certain requirements in his quest for pioneer status. When the franchise went to the "Port Contractors" he enlisted among the ardent followers of the Labour Party. This has become the dominant pattern giving the general impression that all firms which received pioneer

status of some form of Government concession are "PPP" and, as a corollary, the prevailing are anti-Government. Another business-
man, an erstwhile supporter of the PPP, turned
man, some years ago following a business dis-
appointment which was attributed to bad faith
on the part of the Government. He, almost
on the part of the Labour politicians themselves, is
more than the Labour politicians themselves, is
working assiduously to procure the demise of
the PPP. He is the moving figure behind the
Citizens' Association which has suddenly
become a sort of ginger group in the political
fray, and has been generally regarded as a
lively cell of the Labour Party. He was also
instrumental in procuring a number of lethargic
organisations to forward resolutions to Colonial
Office requesting a postponement of the Con-
stitution. Predictably the Government struck
back by calling a halt to his schemes for
recruiting domestics for North America. One
Labour candidate had been a devout PPPite
until Joshua appeared to side with his cousin in
a family business quarrel. He has since been
fighting tooth-and-nail to topple the Govern-
ment. A building contractor who featured on
the PPP platform in 1961 campaigned strongly
for the Labour Party in 1966 because for one
reason and another Government contracts had
ceased to come his way. On the other hand a
veteran politician who had contested the 1961
election on a Labour ticket jumped on the PPP
bandwagon in 1966. The Government had set
him back on his feet by the ill-advised pur-
chase of property from him, and he wished to
show his gratitude. If the foregoing appears to
descend to the banal and the trite it is because
these are the very stuff of which our petty
politics are woven. And one can only handle
the material and the facts that are at one's
disposal.

The use of the political arena as a lever to
raise low standards of living is manifest every-
where. Civil servants who carry labour with
the Ministerial horses are assured a place of
comfort in the system. There are a few
political minions in the middle ranks of the
service who are being groomed for high office
once Associated Status. The party in power
under the new constitution will be entitled to
name quite a few political officers such as an
Attorney-General, and Secretary to the Cabinet.
Appointments to various Boards, commissions
and other bodies, will also come within the pur-
view of the new Premier. The result has been
widespread intrigue, fawning adulation and
unabashed sycophancy to get in the good graces
of the right people now that the political king-
dom is at hand. There are in fact today a
number of misfits in top posts which have not
been filled on the basis of merit, and one
suspects that they are grave causes of political
appointments—straws in the wind, as it were.
Hence the hyper-sensitivity of the Civil Service

Association to political intervention in any
shape. A number of political officeholders
could not stand on their own in the open job
market. Their salaries are their chief, if not
their only, means of livelihood. It follows that
a seat challenged is equivalent to an existence
threatened, and self-preservation continues to
be the first law of nature. In 1961 it became
necessary for the Government to place one of
its defeated candidates as manager of a Govern-
ment farm which operated at a loss. Another
was made a paid official of the party's trade
union arm. Government contracts and licences
have in the past been farmed out to active
politicians as, for instance, two PPP members
of a former Kingstown Board were given the
monopoly to import rice and cooking-oil
respectively. The father of a previous Govern-
ment Minister has consistently cornered the
lucrative mail-carrying trade in the Grenadines
as well as secured the monopoly for selling
stones to Government in Bequia. The high-
point in this system was attained in 1962 when
Ministers' income-tax for that year was waived.
There are a number of sincere PPP supporters
who admit the errors of the Government but
honestly fear that the alternative Government
will do worse. To bolster their case they point
to the presence of some merchants in the
Labour Party who are clearly in the business
for personal gain if not sheer survival, and they
refer to the time when labourites used the
Banana Industry in much the same way as the
PPP has been using the Public Works Depart-
ment to keep their supporters in line.

A Commission of Enquiry in 1963 established
beyond doubt that the PPP has been using the
P.W.D. as a sort of welfare agency. Given the
piercing poverty of the majority of the electo-
rate, the number of party hangers-on and camp
followers to feed, this is not surprising. With
the disappearance of the old economic main-
stays, the continuing failure to find new stimu-
lants to forge economic growth the situation in
St. Vincent has plummeted to an unprecedented
low. Retrenchment of workers has become the
order of the day. The demand for agricultural
hands has dwindled with the exist of the labour-
intensive arrowroot and sugar industries. The
estates have since shifted to livestock and other
activities which do not require much manual
labour, while some socially irresponsible land-
owners have even decided to leave large tracts
of land lying idle in the face of mounting
unemployment. Mechanisation has aggravated
the problem. Banana "headers" have been
replaced by conveyor belts and the deep water
harbour constituted a serious economic blow to
the stevedores and water-front workers. It is
in this context that employment in public works
projects assumes important dimensions.

When people dwell like most Vincentians on
the threshold of ever threatening starvation

they cannot readily appreciate an intellectual
approach to politics that is studded with sophis-
ticated constitutional argument, and emphasises
the reason behind properly co-ordinated long-
term development. Bread-and-butter politics is
the only type they understand. They are not
interested in such philosophical inanities as
"the rights of man" and the various concepts of
freedom. They want to know who will meet
the food bill until they receive the next remit-
tance from overseas. The ruling party has at
its disposal the immense patronage of the
governmental machinery to help foot these bills.
With the transfer of more political power to the
local scene also comes a more complete power
to dispense patronage. This privilege most
small-island politicians will scruple at nothing
to grasp. This is not to suggest that there is
not an instant of the odd species interested
only in the glory of office, or at that rare bird
who genuinely cares about the political and
economic well-being of the country. But, by an
large, the struggle for office is the public means
to a private end: to feather one's nest, to hand
out political favours and to smooth one's path
towards the perpetuation of power and the con-
solidation of personal aggrandisement.

The party in power has a tremendous advan-
tage over its competitor. It can use the radio
station to build up a good public image and it
can dispense Government patronage particularly
through public works schemes. Since the
Opposition party is strong enough to offer an
effective challenge every measure must be
employed to keep it at bay, and frustrate its
ambitions. Immediately after the last elections
money earmarked for a road-building programme
in what turn out to be "enemy territory" was
diverted for expenditure in a PPP stronghold.
Water-front workers who support the Govern-
ment must be favoured, public health workers
who are attached to a rival union must be
hauled over the coals. Staff employed at the
Government Printery must receive more over-
time pay than Post Office Workers who are
enrolled in the "anti-Government" Civil
Service Association. And so on. For their
part the Opposition's job is to seek to discredit
the Government at every turn and belittle any
achievement which stands in the name of the
Government. What should in normal circum-
stances be a political contest conducted within a
prescribed boundary and according to set rules
has, in the prevailing economic milieu, degene-
rated into an embittered dog-fight that has
invaded every aspect of life. In the open war-
fare which surfaced after the last election it
would be reasonable to assume that there were
other than political motivation behind the
boycott. A rough statistical estimate indicates,
for instance, that the beer, the stout, and the
store against which the sanctions have been
ordered, have all collared well over half the

local market in their respective fields. How
gratifying it would be to fight for the political
salvation of one's country, while procuring
one's own economic security as a fringe benefit!
It is within this framework of an anaemic,
mendicant economy that cannot entertain the
various cliques vying for an ascendancy that
one must place the turbulent political events
now in evidence.

Both parties are intent on leading the
country into Internal Self Government. They
are locked in a sort of death-struggle especially
as both teams are acutely aware that the stakes
are high for whichever one governs under the
new constitution will inherit the wherewithal
to manipulate the forces which determine
future election results. The PPP and its
financial backers are obsessed with the con-
solidation of power and the fruitful economic
prospects which are in store for them.
Precisely because a number of the working
class eke out a marginal existence they are
afraid to risk a change and will defend the PPP
to the death. The Labour Party wants to rid
the country of the political-economic monopoly
of the PPP. It is being pushed along, lofty
motives apart, by businessmen who suffered
over the last ten years and are athirst to enjoy
the substance of the land. The trouble is that
in such a constricted economy there is not
enough elbow-room for both contending groups
to manoeuvre without considerable friction.
The friction takes place in the political sphere,
but the root causes are really economic.

If the economy could be shaken out of its
stupor the tensions in the political system
would be considerably eased. Ministers would
not be so vitally concerned with the main-
tenance of power, nor would the Labour Party
be so resolute in its stand aimed at the erosion
or acquisition of that power. They would still
seek to present an alternative to the PPP, but
most of the sting would have disappeared from
the political contest. The rein would still have
to be kept on the ebullient Joshua, but in a
more equable economic climate Joshua would
be more bark than bite. Politics would make
more sense, for a five-dollar note would lose the
magic hold it enjoys over the hungry elector to-
day. Politicians would cease to over-indulge in
their extravagant game of party chairs and
election music if non-political jobs become
available. Conceivably the political parties
might even involve a social philosophy and pre-
sent an effective choice to the people. But the
economic reconstruction which alone can pre-
pare the ground for progressive and meaningful
politics can only be brought about by considered
political action. And there lies the rub, and
the possibility of a continuing crisis. For the
economic crisis and the political crisis are in a
sense both cause and effect of each other.

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND CARIBBEAN DESTINY

BY KERWYN L. MORRIS

The world today presents a scene of bitter clashes and fierce contradictions. Governments rise and fall, "democratic countries" deny what they preach and the victims of the ghastly betrayal are rightly taking to arms. As the stalwart Afro-American writer W.E.B. DuBois said, "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line." The U.S.A., Britain, South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) are proving him right as the political and economic relationships between the developed and "underdeveloped" countries of the world unfold day by day as the politics and economics of colour.

In the Caribbean clashes and conflicts also exist, and the effete and senile reactionaries—the defenders of the status quo, and the youth—the advocates of change are locked in deadly combat. Serious upheavals are near at hand and violence is fast becoming the only path left open for the people, the true and real makers of history to effect their long overdue liberation from colonial and imperial bondage. By historical necessity and the necessity of human freedom and dignity the back of colonialism will soon be dealt its final blow. The following decades will consequently be filled with resounding victories and overwhelming joy for some (the suffering and toiling masses), and with unending upsets and disappointments for others (those who direct their energies contrary to the dictates of historical necessity and attempt to turn back the hands of time). Their defeat is as certain as tomorrow's sunrise. For the youth and the masses there lies ahead a long period of intense struggle and tireless efforts if anything like unity and solidarity are to be achieved in the Caribbean.

There are several concepts of history and its making which should be examined if the people are to recognise and play their respective roles in shaping and developing their society, or better still in determining the destiny of the Caribbean.

In view of the fact that Christianity is rampant in the area and that its influence is significant in some way, it is important that its philosophy of history be looked into however lightly. This philosophy that Christianity preaches is outlined by St. Augustine in his work *de civitate dei* (the City of God). Augustine was a North African from Carthage (now around Lybia) of mixed Negro-Berber descent who flourished in the fifth century A.D. In

the U.S.A. today he would be called a negro by the white power structure and its sociologists. He claimed that history follows a linear progression from the fall of Lucifer the original bearer of light to the imaginary kingdom of heaven, and that this progression proceeds independent of man. That man, therefore, is only a toy in the progression directed by the extraneous force. The road from this secular state to the long promised but never yet seen ecclesiastical one can be followed by man only through Christian obedience and tolerance. Self-expression and exertion are therefore incompatible with the process of Christian history which is not concerned with the social, political and economic degradation of our society, but with some distant reward. It is only the enemies of human development that can teach us not to expect any improvement in the secular state. It is only the enemies of social development that will instruct us not to prepare for any social transition and maliciously direct our meaningful energies elsewhere.

The defenders of the faith may argue that it assists in educational programmes in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, but what they fail to note is the time and energy wasted on efforts of conversion. Why must conversion accompany education? Do non-believers not have the ability to absorb what is being taught? There seems to me to be no relationship between being a Christian and education except where favouritism and patronisation are concerned. In Kenya some years ago it was no surprise when Jomo "Mzee" Kenyatta opened his independent schools, because the Presbyterian Missionary schools refused to teach Kikuyu females who had been circumcised according to their customs. Clearly where Christianity is concerned with education other motives are involved. The blind can see this.

Let us now turn to the more rational schools of thought and see what their concepts of history are like. These are the schools that claim man makes his own history without the aid of any extra-terrestrial force. One of these schools holds that individuals are the ones who make history and the other that the masses of people are the true makers of history. The imperialist powers subscribe to the former school while the socialist states and most underdeveloped countries adhere to the latter. Upon examination of the history of colonialism and imperialism, we find the names of individuals most

outstanding as makers of history! We also find that these men were in some way responsible for the untold loss of lives of the people who were courageous enough to resist their imperial designs. The cult of individualism—the glorification of military stardom, is thus the core of the imperialist concept of history, and it is this ravenous egoism that did so much to foster the ideas of private property and capitalism.

The other school holds that the masses of people are the true makers of history as all colonial peoples are finding out today. If Cetshwayo, Osei Tutu, Queen Zingha of Matamba, and Usman dan Fodio did not have the support of the masses of people they never would have accomplished what they did. The masses of people are the ones who will mould their destiny according to historical necessity and the necessity to be free. It is they who will prepare the conditions for the transition of the new social system. It is they who will call the tunes of the revolution, and it is they who will bind themselves into movements of national liberation for they still do not enjoy the fruits of their labour.

To understand the role of the masses of the people and individuals who may lead them in making history, we must first grasp the concept of historical materialism, the science of general laws of the development of society. Hegel developed the principle and formulated what is now known as the Hegelian triad (thesis, antithesis and synthesis), but it was Karl Marx who applied these ideas to the materialist theory of social development. The dialectics therefore now became a sort of guide or method of approach to social development. Let us for example take our present status quo as the thesis and we will find that within the society exists the anti-thesis or contradictions or negations, or opposites, whichever we may choose to call them. In other words, existing in our society are conditions that necessitate changing as time, history and social development move on, but are not changed. The thesis (status quo) and antithesis (contradiction) therefore enter into continuous reaction with each other in various ways until a synthesis or outcome of the clashes is arrived at. This idea of negations is extremely important in analysing social development for it tells us at what stage of development a society is at a given time. In all societies, ours being no exception, development proceeds in such a way that the contradictions are forced to reveal themselves. With this revelation, a struggle follows, which inevitably ends in the destruction of the old forms and the emergence of new ones—the synthesis. Social development thus necessitates a struggle and the type of struggle indicates the level of

development. Hairoun (St. Vincent) is in the midst of a struggle and it is not hard to see the type of struggle taking place. The guardians of the thesis (status quo) who relish in its corruption are face to face with the might of the antithesis, and a vendetta to the death is on.

Historical materialism then, when used as a method for analysing our particular situation tells us why the police harass students abroad and hunt down progressive elements within the society. It tells us why suitably qualified native personnel are placed second to foreigners—because the foreign personnel itself contains an element of corruption and will try to preserve the status quo. It tells us why old Savio Lee took such a reactionary stand and why such heavy blows were rained down on him. But above all, it tells us that the role of the protectors of the thesis will soon be ended for historical necessity knows no compromise and the necessity of human freedom, dignity and development no alternative. Historical materialism tells us why social revolutions occur and why they are significant in the historical process. It is the methodological basis of all other social sciences for it allows true historians, economists and politicians to understand the intricate network of social phenomena and to determine the place and significance of each phenomenon in social life. It allows us also to understand the roles of people and individuals in social development.

Historical necessity is that which naturally follows from the internal conditions and social phenomena, and is therefore bound to take place. If the internal conditions in Hairoun necessitate a revolution then by necessity this revolution will occur. Social revolutions always take place by necessity. Of course the Christian philosophy of history does not recognise historical necessity in this sense for it claims, as I have said, that the entire historical process is determined by an outside force and that man is but a chess man in the hands of providence. *How mistaken they are.*

Freedom is the result of historical and social development and is an indispensable prerequisite for the growth of any society, ours being no exception. Today we are at the point of being "granted" a so-called advanced constitution, but the liberation of colonial territories is a not a grant to the exploited. It is historical necessity at work for the liberation of colonial peoples is something that is inevitable. It is something that these people are calling for sometimes with arms and it is only in avoidance of a show down that liberation is "granted" to subjugated peoples. Colonialism and imperialism have forced us, their victims, to conspire and rebel against

them and the synthesis of this struggle is inevitable for nothing stops historical necessity. Victories, it must be remembered, are not always foreseen for they are not always determined by the size of armies, the quality and quantity of weapons or the presence of warships. Strategic and psychological calculations in the light of historical necessity also bring resounding victories. Guerrilla warfare has brought many a victory over conventional warfare and as long as the necessity for freedom exists (and it always will), then it will be pursued to a victorious end no matter what method may be chosen.

Having seen that people and not any other force make history, we now ask ourselves of what importance are these people and their leaders in the historical process, and what is the relationship between them. By the people or masses, I do not intend to convey them as the "rabble" or "common crowd" as the bourgeois describe them, I mean the people whose tireless labour has been exploited for centuries. If we agree that material production is the basis of social life and that the working people constitute the chief productive force, then we must also agree that these same people are the decisive force in social development. The more active these people are and the more diversified the material production, the more pressing is the need for experienced and mature leaders; leaders aware of the inevitability of historical necessity and familiar with historical materialism; leaders who have clearly seen the objective and subjective laws of the society in operation; leaders who can reflect the aspirations of the people at all times, for if they fail to do so, they shall be wiped from the scene of history never to return. The role of leaders is very significant in any movement, for leaders or great men do not appear by chance but by historical necessity—when the conditions are ripe. Such men come to the fore generally in a period of radical revolutionary change in the society. They emerge because they understand the objective course of the historical process, recognise the needs of a developing society, and know how to satisfy the requirements in order to improve human life. As Ibn Khaldun of Tunis said (1370 A.D.) the leader must "accommodate the sentiments and desires of the people and share his power with them", for no man is greater than the people he leads. He must possess qualities that allow him to serve the social needs of his time and he must never forget that his strength lies in his contact with the people whom historical necessity has brought him to lead, and in his ability to organise them.

The people may be organized into what is called a national liberation movement, for the

purpose of securing the total liberation of the nation or island as it may be, from the forces that arrest its development—colonialism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism. These movements should be formed in all the islands and should have close links with each other.

The development of the national liberation struggle entered a new phase as a result of the second world war. Many colonies, it will be recalled, were drawn into the maelstrom of war and some of them in Africa and Asia actually became the scene of human butcher-stalls. The requirements of the war economy compelled the colonial and imperial powers to accelerate the development of certain industries in their colonial possessions and this led to a rapid development of the indigenous proletariat. In 1939, more than two-thirds of humanity was under the colonial yoke but between 1945 and 1960 more than 1,500 million people liberated themselves and took the part of independent development. Today, there remains only 1.5% of the world's population under colonialism. 97% of the Asian land mass contains sovereign states while 75% of Africa is liberated. Of the one hundred odd countries represented at the United Nations, one-half of them are in Asia and Africa. Where is the Caribbean? Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Barbados have gone their separate ways. Why are the remaining people of the Caribbean still under colonialism, is it that we love it? Why are there no liberation movements in the area and why have all the significant changes that have taken place in the colonial world bypassed the Caribbean?

The inevitable collapse of the colonial system in Africa and Asia is the result of a most powerful upsurge of national liberation movements and social and political consciousness among the people—the manifestations of historical necessity and the necessity of human freedom and dignity. And with the break up of the system and its final disappearance in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean, some of the most shameful and horrid pages in the annals of imperialist history will have been turned over. The defenders of the system are helplessly watching its last barricades fall day by day while they scramble for the last favours. They try in every fraudulent way to belittle the role and significance of liberation movements or any thing resembling them and maliciously spread the myth that colonial independence is not won as a result of the struggle of the colonial peoples but rather is "granted" or more stylishly "guided" to it by their masters. How then upon the achievement of independence the colonies are still found (after "guidance") to be underdeveloped? We should by now understand that the only

guidance we ever knew was along the path of perpetual underdevelopment. The imperial powers themselves maintain the view that no people of any colony is ever ready enough for independence, that is, until the people rise up against their alien rule (Algeria, U.A.R., Sudan, India, Kenya [Mau Mau], Ghana, Viet Nam) and expel them. Why have we not yet shaken off our rule by foreign powers? Colonial powers leave only when the action of the people they rule demand that they take their exit. They never depart voluntarily so let our actions show that we want the Caribbean to be ruled by Caribbeans.

The basis for liberation has always been a struggle by the people and we cannot expect our liberation until our people rise up and demand it themselves. The people of each island must themselves choose the means of effecting their liberation and they should be concerned with winning their liberation with the minimum of human losses. We must first therefore try to remove the colonial powers by peaceful means, but if this fails, then there is no alternative but the use of arms. In the period 1945–1955 more than ten countries were forced to take up arms in order to expel the colonialists, while from 1956 to 1962 thirty-three out of thirty-five colonies won their liberation without recourse to arms. How shall ours be won?

The efforts of national liberation movements are by no means confined to the elimination of oppression and subservience but are broadened to create the material basis for economic development after the achievement of political independence. The obtaining of this independence is only the first phase of the revolution for national liberation, for complete national liberation means also economic independence. The job of building the nation's economy now comes to the forefront of the struggle. There are some people who hold the view that economic independence must precede political independence, but I think it is the other way around. How can we ever have any economic independence if we do not have the political authority to direct all the phases of our economic planning?

There are many countries that have won political independence but still today remain appendages of world capitalist economy and division of industrial labour. The road of economic development must be chosen by the liberated people themselves for they must decide their own destiny. The inherited colonial economic system is incapable of leading us towards economic independence for it was never designed to do this as the economic conditions of all present and former colonies reveal. The development of the state sector is decisive in

NOWHERE WAS A LIGHT

Broken and brown leaves leave the trees
To lay their limbs in limbo under the grass;
Bone and flowers, shower and sun grow
Corpse and child in the naked acres of the dead.

The islands strung upon the sea and
Swinging in the wind were talking in their
sleep
Until the quicksands on the beach swallowed
rope
And hope left scumbulists drowning in the
deep.

Pandora tampered and her temper
Burned a flower under skull and pretty coffin.
Sin and saviour, wine and worm,
Called a tune, pandered to Pandora.

The way was dark and nowhere was a light,
Until the lightning shocked the nervous sky
And struck the child upon the park; there was
no light
Until the temple dome came crashing down the
sky.

DANIEL WILLIAMS.

any country. If the state owns the main branches of the country's economy, then it places itself in a position to direct and control the economy, and at the same time combat the dominance of foreign monopolies and break up the colonial economic structure. It is no mistake that the majority of countries liberated from colonialism have chosen the triumphant path of building socialism. At the third Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held in Tanganyika, February 1963, the countries attending proposed the nationalisation of the investments of the imperialist monopolies. This also was no mistake.

Various forms of social and economic changes are currently being introduced in the developing countries to bridge the gap in the standards of living and to raise the level of their economies. What changes are we attempting in the Caribbean? What changes can we make when no one wants to deviate from the colonial norm? Everyone is afraid of being branded and having to live on the fringes of the colonial society. But the patience of the people of the Caribbean is fast running out and soon a new phase will (confrontation of the thesis and thesis) occur—by historical necessity. It is then that the might of the reactionaries will be tested.

It is then that the masses, the true makers of history will take over the machinery of government and direct their own development.

We need a society without poverty and exploitation, without social injustice, and without any form of oppression. We need a society without corruption in which all concerned would be united in true brotherhood rather than divided into antagonistic socio-economic classes. We need a society founded on socialism that would provide the well-being of all, a society that will provide equality, collectivism, liberty and creative labour, a society that would foster the free development of each for this is the basis for the free development of all. Socialism equates with the vital interests of all the working people—the people whose role in the society is significant, and this is exactly what we need in the Caribbean for any meaningful progress to take place. If we follow this path, the path that most liberated areas are following today, then we can't possibly be misled.

A TEACHER'S LIFE AND TERMS

BY MARCIA HAROLD

This article is designed to be a reflection of the everyday life of a teacher in a secondary school; a glimpse of school environment, classroom activity and a philosophy that governs a teacher's thoughts and actions. Any teacher ought to recognise the hurly-burly of her world; the philosophy may however be only in part hers as it is in the main self-derived and hence there may be disagreement with some of the methods and attitudes underlined that are governed by this philosophy.

The years a teacher spends teaching are the years the teacher gets taught. From the moment she enters her first classroom she begins to learn the do's and don'ts of living with the live-material occupying chair and desk, and of giving life to what could so easily become dead data, which is fatal. Those are the two mind-teasers of the beginner and they remain her foremost concern to the end. Life is a long course of gaining experience that leads to self-confidence which generates ease of manner and an ability to recognise what quality is needed to really make a moment live.

There are however many more burrs that cling to her skirt complicating her life: old ones reeling and new ones blown by the wind of artful hands and artless faces. These include limited space, the common cold, staying indoors as much as possible during Guy Fawkes, and irritable parents.

In our schools a chronic enemy is overcrowd-

ing. In some cases there is hardly space between child and child, and child and teacher. If the day is hot and humidity high she teaches through the blast of hot air that in addition assails her from their bodies. Usually in our schools this is not the conditions in all form rooms for the classes are usually whittled down in number the higher the grade. But picture the teacher in the furnace of the Lower school and sing a song of those saints.

The myth of the teacher relaxing during morning and evening breaks persists. Without doubt one sometimes manages to relax (usually in the form of lively debates with the staff) but this is by no means regular. Many of these breaks are taken up in settling quarrels among the pupils, dispensing punishment, correcting exercise books, having a look through the lesson to be next taught, getting the advice of other teachers, and answering questions posed by students. Not to mention that every teacher has known days when she spends an entire break working in a classroom for one reason or another only to hurry out in time so as not to be late for the next class assignment. The same is true for so-called off-periods.

During each term the teacher must act as judge and jury, and the truth is not always easily arrived at so that decisions can be made, for the teacher likes *just* decisions, not just decisions. To whom does the pen (book etc) really belong? Whose fault was the fight? Is the child feigning illness? Is that excuse a lie?

One of the occupational hazards of the teacher is parting a fight between two lusty combatants. She commits this folly at her own risk, for she is liable to be belted one in the eye before the sense of sanity once more descends. Another occupational hazard is to come before bribery: "Teacher, I'll bring six eggs for you tomorrow if you let me off," while the tears come coursing down the pupil's tormented cheeks.

What else is the teacher? Nurse. Grazes, cuts, headaches, period pains, fainting, a sudden rash from allergy, must all be given first aid accompanied by kind words, sympathetic looks and reassuring smiles. A teacher is truly a chameleon, changing colour to suit each role at a moment's notice, and roles so different from each other.

Each day also brings the role of counsellor. One may be employed to teach history but in the course of each Term one is asked literally to help solve the riddle of the world. It is not that a teacher ever gives the impression that she knows everything, but simply that the minds of growing people, becoming more aware of the world and seething with ideas, pose these questions to you not as one who necessarily knows but as one whose opinions they respect

and who can at least reason with them. The teacher has a vantage point of more experience, and this the students know to take advantage of.

The teacher is mentor but she is friend and it takes such patience and sagacity to strike the balance that results in the pupils' giving the teacher due respect without her creating a barrier of aloofness.

The pupil must feel confidence in the teacher. Not only the confidence that she knows the subject she is discoursing on but the confidence which leads to voice a barrage of questions and to be able to confide their worries about their work. This means painstakingly listening to every question hesitantly posed by the bravest during the first term of getting to know each other. The others soon get courage. It means not giving scathing remarks at silly questions or answers or, much worse, the cruel laugh.

When one knows the temper of a form, and one is an old friend of weeks' standing, one may relax the above rules somewhat. Why? Because friends are not formal with each other and the give and take of class life is good training for the outside world.

No teacher learns all the above from the word "go," but learns as she goes along and makes many mistakes. In spite of good fellowship the teacher remains very much in charge. This is necessary so that you have the authority that must be obeyed for instance to bring a class back from involved argument to the continuance of the subject in hand. This authority is usually so understood that it is obeyed without the actual use of it. At times of course even the best behaved form needs to be pulled up.

The teacher too loses her temper at times, but this is usually from constant provocation (it could be aided by a headache and the weather) and venture a spate of rhetoric against an individual or a class, but these full-blooded outbursts are not often and are said in language so much above their heads that they lose half of it. They have a lesson in themselves, for when it is finished it is finished and one launches in an ordinary voice into the lesson and the children are aware they can ask any question without getting "barked". Because of the confidence and trust they are aware that no malice is held against them, and this is important.

What is this governing philosophy? Never add salt to the rumour of infallibility. When a subject for debate comes before the form directly, from the subject being studied, or out of the blue, the attitude is "Come let us reason together" instead of the teacher propounding her view and that being that. She throws forward her ideas as her opinion, they consider it and offer theirs not necessarily in that order, and in the end may even agree to differ (if they

have not been completely overwhelmed by the teacher's logic); but all are happy that they have participated in a battle of wits and opinion on equal terms. The idea is that although every effort must be made to complete syllabuses that is not the only thing that is important. It is equally important that they acquire the capacity to reason, that they develop character, and have some idea of even the most controversial topics of this world so that they do not walk through the school gates like innocents abroad. While learning the facts in the set books the attitude should be given that here we have in our hands not a book with facts to imbibe but a book of ideas whose relevance we must search and question for. Thus one imports not only knowledge but a love of knowledge, reason and logic that must never cease to grow.

In the midst of it humour must not be an out-cast. Its an invaluable asset—a sense of humour. A teacher delivering a joke from the rostrum has its place but is unbeatable in informal combat where you laugh at others and learn to laugh at yourself.

One thing that a teacher must accept and be understanding about is that individuality is diversity. A form will be comprised of mischievous ones, born talkers and natural practical jokers. Trying to break them with unyielding firmness is fatal, you lose and the child is made stubborn and abjectly rude, and the ruinous vicious circle is created. One must also consider however that many children are brought to a school already the worse for mis-handling). Channel their energies, join sometimes in their illicit humour, give them a chance then you take your chance. If you can't beat them join them and they will soon realise that they can't beat you, and join you. The result is a happy class because of the room for personality development instead of repression.

In the teacher's life and terms much has not been mentioned here, such as the giving up of holidays to help the students and the numerous piles of books that must be taken home to be corrected. But with all the side irritations it is a job in which one gets supremely involved and fulfilled.

BEYOND A BOUNDARY

(Hutchinson Ltd.) C. L. R. JAMES

Beyond a Boundary is not an autobiography; though about cricket it is not a cricket book though prominently featuring the masters of cricket, its purpose is not biography. Its story

is cricket and cricketers within and beyond a boundary.

The book forms the second part of a trilogy in which C.L.R. James attempts (and succeeds) to unveil and bring to light the essence of Western Civilization. The first part of the trilogy is *Mariners Renegades and Castaways*, a study of the American Classic *Moby Dick*, and so a study of twentieth century America. There is nothing in literary criticism quite like it.

Beyond a Boundary is a view of British Civilization and the West Indian relation and contribution to that civilization. In the book Caliban and Prospero have met and not only speak the same language, but common to them is a means of artistic expression—Cricket. Mr. James' thesis is that cricket by its very nature is not only an art but has within it the sustaining qualities of a human ethic—an ethos all the more necessary in the extreme world situation of our disjointed times.

Such an immense assignment could easily lead to the prolix in style, and the diffuse in method, but Mr. James being quite familiar with the novelist's craft employs that economy of narrative which is art, together with a penetrating simplicity of style which keeps the book aimed at the ordinary reader.

The result is a magnificent story, arrestingly told, and signifying the eternal effort of man to rise above the dehumanising process, be it of colonial oppression or industrial oppressiveness and, in rising, find expression for his many and varied endowments.

With such a perspective brought to cricket, W. G. Grace, C. B. Fry, Constantine, Headley, and his Mastership Gary Sobers illumine the history of our times, and their achievements though personal (and rightly so) must therefore be seen as a contribution at the rendezvous of human history. Mr. James in a succinct and masterly analysis traces the growth of organised games and popular democracy and shows that the fuller the sporting life of man, the wider the degree of popular democracy. It is an entirely new historical perspective, ranging from the Greeks in their unequalled democracy to Caliban's sojourn in the New World and the latter's struggle for popular expression in art and politics.

The remarkable freshness of the book lies not only in that it says what has never been said before, but in the author's method. That method Hegel formulated when he stated that truth lies in plotting the precise distance between the observer and the observed. Hence the autobiographical details which are limited to James' relation to cricket, and which career has as one of its summits of interest, the author's tremendous campaign for Alexander to go in favour of Worrell. West Indian cricket has not been the same since.

In fact so much that has highlighted the cricketing World is within the covers of this book, the Wizardry of Pigott behind the stumps, the furious pace of George John, the overwhelming elegance and tragic failure of another West Indian great batsman Wilton St. Hill, the ruthless execution of bowlers by Bradman, the power of Walcott, the craft of a Ranjitsingji, the grace and power of a W.G. Grace, and the W.I. Board's complete misunderstanding of Gilchrist. All of this is recounted not as cricket reminiscence, but much of this provides the author with the basic material for his brilliant argument with the famous aesthetician Bernard Berenson. This chapter, 'What is Art' does not answer Tolstoy's agonising question but it widens and deepens the discussion by including games as a medium through which man expresses himself in motion and in craft.

I still have some reservations as to whether cricket with its 'confusion of actuality' can or should be placed alongside the plastic arts. I prefer to place it among the 'lively arts'—the dance, the opera, the movies etc. That apart, there is no reason for disagreement with Mr. James' view "that it is an unspeakable impertinence to arrogate the term 'fine art' to one small section of man's quest for the perfect flow of motion."

A comprehensive review of Beyond a Boundary is virtually impossible, for it is self-contained and self-explanatory. Its importance does not stop at the statement that it is the finest book written on a sport (as some have claimed) but in the far more significant fact that in the voluminous literature of our times nine out of ten books have as their fundamental tenet that gloom and dread, anxiety and anguish, comprised the essential ingredients of the human mind. These books by talented writers are the whimper of a dying civilisation. Beyond a Boundary is a direct and forthright challenge to that conception of human life, and establishes C.L.R. James among those of 'Undying Vision' who see the possibility and constituents of a truly human history.

Beyond a Boundary is part of Caliban's contribution against the threatening world catastrophe. When the third part of the trilogy, a study of King Lear, is completed this body of work will stand in its own rights as the most impressive intellectual contribution of the West Indies to the cause of universal emancipation. It is enough to remember that the Black Jacobins was written in 1938 in the cause of African freedom. In 1938 the African struggle for freedom seemed remote. It now is foremost in the modern world. James' view of the movement and inexorable development of a world society may well come to pass.

What do they know who only cricket know? Beyond a Boundary answers the question fully.